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AUTHOR Iadicola, Peter
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ABSTRACT

The impact of school racial context (percentage of Anglo students in school and degree of Anglo peer group integration) and student background characteristics (sex, race, educational attainment of father of school racial context differed for Blacks intentions was addressed. A random subsample of Anglo (1,367), Black (1,172), and Hispanic (430) students was selected from all students in grades 8 and 11 in 19 junior and 9 senior high schools in 3 school districts in California (Monrovia, Pasadena, Oxnard) and 1 in Washington (Tacoma). Regression analysis measured the contribution of each independent variable. Results indicated that student background characteristics had a persistent effect on aspirations and expectations, even when controlling for student performance. The differential effect of student socioeconomic background and academic competence had mixed results for the three groups. The effect of school racial context differed for Blacks and Hispanics; for Black students the percentage of Anglo students in the school had a positive effect, while for Hispanic students the opposite was the case. School racial context affected minority male students but not minority female students. Further elaboration of the models is needed to account for differences in results for the three groups and between males and females. (Author/MH)

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THE RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL RACIAL CONTEXT AND STUDENTS BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS UPON ANGLO, BLACK, AND HISPANIC SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENT'S EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS*

by

Peter Iadicola
Indiana University
Fort Wayne, Indiana

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Abstract

This research attempts to reproduce previous findings on the effects of school racial context, student background characteristics, as well as student performance and attitudes about self and school on student educational aspirations and expectations. The research utilizes a random sample of Anglo, black, and Hispanic eighth and eleventh grade students drawn from nineteen junior and nine senior high schools from the western region of the United States. Regression analysis is performed to determine the unique contribution of each of the independent variables. In general, the results indicate that student background characteristics have a persistent effect upon aspirations and expectations, even when controlling for student performances. The variation in patterns regarding the differential effect of student socioeconomic background and academic competence by sex received mixed results for the three ethnic groups. Also, the effect of school racial context differed for blacks and Hispanics. Specifically, for the black students there was a positive effect of percent Anglo in the school, while for Hispanic students the opposite was the case. The effect of school racial context was present only for the minority male students and not the minority female students. The research calls for further elaboration of the models to account for the differences in the results for the three ethnic groups and between males and females.

This research will address the impact of school racial context (percent Anglo in the school and degree of Anglo peer group integration) and student background characteristics (sex, race, and parent's educational attainment) upon secondary student's educational aspirations and expectations. Included in the analysis as control variables will be measures of student's attitudes about self and school (self concept, locus of control, attitude toward own ethnic group, and attitude toward school) and school performance (academic competence, worker personality, sociability, and frequency of disciplinary problems). We will be specifically focusing on the aspirations and expectations of eighth and eleventh grade Anglo, black, and Hispanic students.

There has been a good deal of research on the effects of school racial context upon aspirations and expectations. Much of this research has been focused on the effect of school desegregation upon black student's aspirations and expectations. The findings of this research is best considered inconclusive, some concluding that there is a negative effect of school desegregation upon black student's aspirations and expectations (Armor, 1967; Bachman, 1970; St. John, 1966; Wilson, 1960; Blake, 1960; White and Knight, 1973), other research finding a positive effect of desegregation (Caplin, 1966; Curtis; Abramson, 1971), and still other research indicating no effect of racial climate upon aspirations and expectations (Hall, 1971; Ansell, 1970). However, there is little research investigating the effect of racial context upon the aspirations and expectations of Hispanic students. In one such study investigating Hispanic student's aspirations and expectations it was hypothesized and verified that for both Anglo and Mexican American high school students

college plans were more likely to be made in schools dominated by their own ethnic group (TenHouten, et.,al., 1971). Additional research is needed to replicate this finding.

In reviewing the literature on the relationship between student background factors and aspirations, one is overwhelmed with the quantity of research in this area. Much of the status attainment research has focused on the effect of parent socioeconomic status and educational attainment upon aspirations and expectations (Sewell and Hauser, 1975; Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan, 1972). Research on black differences in status attainment and ambition has concluded that more of the variance in white outcomes can be explained than for black outcomes (Porter, 1974; Portes and Wilson,1976). However, Kerckhoff and Campbell (1977a) found that an additional variable, not previously considered in the status attainment literature, fatalism, is a more powerful predictor of ambition among black students among white students. Kerckhoff and Campbell (1977b) also concluded in another analysis of black/white differences in educational expectations and attainment that the student's nonacademic performance as measured by school discipline was also an important factor for black students. Thus, some of this difference in explained variance are a result of omitted variables in the equations.

The research on racial differences on aspirations and expectations concludes that these high aspirations of black students are transitory or fantasy like and have little relationship to school performance (Coleman, 1967; Epps, 1969; Weinberg, 1977). In terms of the research investigating the aspirations and expectations of Hispanic students, the findings indicate that absolute educational aspirations and expectations are generally low and are related to social class (Malry, 1968; Heller, 1964).

Much of the research on sex differences in educational aspirations and expectations was completed in the 1950's and 60's and for this reason, given the possible changes in sex role socialization since that time, the findings

may have limited generalizability to cohorts of students today. Nevertheless, previous research has found that female students are generally less likely to aspire or expect to obtain college degrees and higher levels of education as compared to male students (Berdua, 1960; Ezell and Tate, 1955; Gordon, 1969; Harrison, 1969; Stephenson, 1957; Sewell, 1964; Turner, 1964). In more recent research this finding is less persistent. Marini and Greenberger's (1978) findings were generally consistent with this earlier research in that males had higher educational expectations than females. However, Rosen and Aneshensel (1979) find no differences between male and female student educational expectations.

Research on sex differences in expectations and aspirations have found that socioeconomic background has a relatively greater effect for female than male students (Sewell and Shah, 1967; 1968a; 1968b; Alexander and Eckland, 1974; Hauser, 1971, Hout and Morgan, 1975). The recent research by Marini and Greenberger (1978) did not find this pattern, but rather, found that both socioeconomic background and academic ability have a greater effect on educational ambition for males than females. Other research which compares the effect of family background and academic ability alone upon educational aspirations and expectations of males and females, has found that socioeconomic background generally has a greater effect than academic ability for both sexes (Sewell and Shah, 1967; 1968b; Hauser, 1971; Alexander and Eckland, 1974; Marini and Greenberger, 1978).

Research on the aspirations and expectations of minority female students is not as plentiful. Thorpe (1968) found higher aspirations for black female students than black or Anglo males. Gecas (1976) found that the self definition of adult Hispanic women revolves around the family and the home, while adult Hispanic men are more likely to refer to their work or occupational role in defining themselves. Mirande and Enriquez (1976) contend that the Chicana

suffers from a "triple oppression" resulting from being members of a colonized minority population, economic and social oppression because of their female status, and oppression based on their own cultural heritage which reinforces the dominance of Hispanic men and the subordination of Hispanic women.

Research Questions

The following questions will be addressed in this research:

(1) Are there sex and racial differences in educational aspirations and expectations of eighth and eleventh grade students?

(2) What is the impact of school racial context and degree of minority student's integration into the Anglo peer group upon aspirations and expectations of Anglo, black, and Hispanic eighth and eleventh grade students?

(3) What is the differential impact of the education of the head of the household and student academic competence upon the educational aspirations and expectations of male and female Anglo, black, and Hispanic eighth and eleventh grade students?

(4) What is the effect of student's attitudes regarding fatalism or locus of control, self concept, attitude toward own ethnic group, and attitude toward school upon the educational aspirations and expectations of Anglo, black, and Hispanic eighth and eleventh grade students?

(5) What is the effect of student's rate of disciplinary problems upon the educational aspirations and expectations of Anglo, black, and Hispanic eighth and eleventh grade students?

Sample

Data for the present research is from a P.R.I.M.E. multiethnic school evaluation study conducted in 1974 (Doering, 1974). Nineteen junior and nine senior high schools agreed to participate in the evaluation. The schools were located in four school districts; (1) Monrovia, (2) Pasadena, (3) Oxnard,

California, and (4) Tacoma, Washington. Efforts were made to survey all eighth and eleventh grade students in these schools. The questionnaire was administered by trained surveyors in the social studies classrooms in the schools. In order to keep keypunching expenses within the original research budget a 40.8% (3322) subsample was selected. The subsample was selected in accordance with the following guidelines; (1) include some students from each of the 366 classes where the questionnaire was administered, (2) keep sample around 3,000 students, (3) select approximately 40 to 45 students from each ethnic group for the sample from each school, (4) include only the five major ethnic groups; Anglo, black, Hispanic, Asian-American, native American, and (5) use a table of random numbers to determine which questionnaires would be drawn from the pool of those who meet the above criteria (Doering, 1974).

Ethnic breakdown of the study subsample included; 1,367 Anglo, 1,172 black, 430 Hispanic, 235 Asian-American, 106 native Americans, and 13 others. For this secondary analysis of the data, we will only be using Anglo, black, and Hispanic students in the subsample. Among the 19 junior high schools in the sample, the proportion of Anglo students in the eighth grade populations range from a low of 15.4% to a high of 95.6%. Among the 9 senior high schools in the sample, the proportion of Anglo students in the eleventh grade populations range from a low of 54.2% to a high of 90.3%. All schools except one junior high school are tri-ethnic (containing Anglo, black, and Hispanic students).

Operationalizations

The student background factors; ethnicity, education of head of household, and sex were asked directly on the student questionnaire. The question measuring educational attainment of the head of the household was worded in the following manner; "How far did your father go in school? (if

your father does not live with you or is not alive, then answer for the person in your household who is working or is head of the household)". Five choices were provided for the respondent to select from; (1) did not finish high school, (2) finished high school and stopped, (3) went to college or trade school for a while, (4) finished college and stopped, B.A. degree, (5) went beyond college; masters or doctors degree. Sex was asked directly on the questionaire and was coded (1) male, (2) female.

Percent Anglo in the student's grade populations was obtained from the original population data (all students in the eighth and eleventh grades were surveyed). Anglo peer group integration was measured by the average score on three questions. Students were asked; (1) Think about the other students with whom you usually eat lunch. How many are white (all, most, about half, a few, or none), (2) Think about the other students you usually hang around with after school. How many are white? (same response categories), and (3) Think about the other students with whom you usually go to ballgames and other school activities. How many are white? A high score means a high level of Anglo peer group integration. The range of reliabilities of the measure across the three different ethnic populations is from .75 to .92 (reliability formula used to evaluate the measurement intruments was developed by Marion Shaycroft, cited in Jencks in Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey, Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972).

There are four measures of students attitudes; self concept, fatalism or locus of control, attitude toward own ethnic group, and attitude toward school. Self concept is measured by an average score on four items; "how often he or she does good classwork, how often he or she worries about failing, how much he or she thinks others like him or her, how often he or she feels unhappy or afraid in school. Students were provided with four possible responses; always, most of the time, some of the time, and never. A high score means a positive (favorable) self concept. Reliability coefficients range across the three ethnic groups from .71 to .75.

Locus of control or fatalism measures the extent to which students feel they are victims of circumstances beyond their control. The scale is composed of three items; (1) "Making friends is largely a matter of being lucky enough to meet the right people," (2) "getting good grades depends mostly on getting the right course or the right teacher," and (3) "some people seem born to fail while others seem born to succeed no matter what they do." Students were provided with the following response categories to choose from; strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree. The reliabilities for the three ethnic groups are generally low, .35 to .46.

Attitude toward own ethnic group was measured by an average score on the items comprising five subscales. Students were asked to rate the Anglo students in the school in terms of (1) friendliness toward the respondent; ("How many white students are friendly to you?, How many white students do you like?, How many are easy to get along with"), (2) friendly to other groups ("How many are friendly to black students?, How many are friendly to Mexican American students?, How many are friendly to Asian American students, How many are friendly to Indian students?"), (3) aggressiveness ("How many get into trouble in school?, How many are loud and rough, how many push other students around, how many white students start fights"), (4) academic competence ("How many get good grades, how many white students study hard, how many are smart in classwork"), and (5) liked by teachers ("How many do the teachers like?, How many are treated fairly by teachers?) Students were given the response categories; all, most, about half, a few, and none. Students rated the three ethnic groups along the same dimensions. The measure of attitude toward own ethnic group is the total average score on all items composing the five subscales where the respondents are rating their own ethnic group. The range of reliabilities for the composite measure across the three ethnic groups is .79 to .91.

The measure of attitude toward school is a four item scale. Students were asked to rate their school in terms of four-five point semantic differentials; (1) Good/Bad, (2) Not a waste of time/A waste of time, (3) Will help me have a better life/Will not help me have a better life, (4) Friendly/Unfriendly. The range of reliabilities for the three ethnic groups is .56 to .65.

There are four measures of student performance; teacher's ratings which factor along three dimensions; academic competence, worker characteristics, and sociability, and student's report of rate of school discipline. Teachers were asked to rate the student in terms of a series of five point semantic differentials. These bipolar adjective ratings have been consistently found to factor in terms of three dimensions and have been found to be highly reliable and valid measures (Mercer, et al. 1974; Doering, 1974). Teachers rating of competence is composed of an average score of six bipolar adjective describing student's academic competence (items are listed with factor loadings for the entire sample); Dull minded/Intelligent (-.83), Slow/Quick (-.81), Good memory/Poor memory (.79), Disorganized/Organized (-.66), Able to Concentrate/Subject to Distraction (.64), and Persevering/Quitting (.60). The range of reliabilities for teacher's rating of academic competence across the three ethnic groups is .84 - .88. Teacher's rating of sociability is also an average of six semantic differentials; Unsociable/Sociable (-.76), Aloof/Friendly (-.75), Cheerful/Morose (.73), Cold/Warm (-.71), Extroverted/ Introverted (.71), and Colorful/Colorless (.65). The range of reliabilities for teachers rating of sociability for the three ethnic groups is .82 - .89. The final rating by teachers is that of worker characteristic. Again the measure is composed of the average score of the ratings on six bipolar adjectives arranged along a five point semantic differential; Easy to discipline/Difficult to discipline (.86), Obedient/Disobedient (.81),

Obstructive/Cooperative (-.78), Patient/Impatient (.74), Unkind/Kind (-.68), Prone to anger/Not prone to anger (-.67). A high score on each of the measures indicates a positive evaluating academic competence, worker personality and sociability. The range of reliabilities across the three ethnic groups for teacher's rating of worker characteristics is .88 - .91 (Doering, 1974).

The measure of rate of school disciplinary problems came directly from the student. Students were asked, "How many times have you been sent to the office, kept for detention, or something like that because of something you did in school this year." Students were given the response categories of "0" to "9 or more."

The dependent variables student's educational aspirations and student's educational expectations were also single item indicators. "If you could go as far as you wanted to go in school, how far would you go? "How far do you really expect you will go in school?" Students were given the following response categories to respond to; (1) "I would not finish high school," (2) "I would finish high school and stop," (3) I would go to college or trade school for a while," (4) "I would finish college and stop, B.A. degree," (5) "I would go beyond college, Masters or Doctors degree" (Doering, 1974).

Results

Initially one way analysis of variance is performed to determine whether there are differences between males and females, and between Anglo, black, and Hispanic student's educational aspirations and expectations. Only in the case of educational expectations of eighth grade students is there a statistically significant difference between males and females. In this case male students have a higher level of educational expectations (3.46) than female students (3.33).

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Table 1 about here

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Ethnic differences in aspirations and expectations are also not large. Where there is a statistically significant difference between ethnic groups, it is between black students who generally scored the highest and Hispanic students who scored the lowest. In a separate two way analysis of variance performed on this data, there was indication that there was only one case of an interaction effect, eleventh grade student's aspirations, ethnic and sex interaction $F = 3.555$ ($p \leq .05$). Although the interaction is quite weak it is nevertheless interesting to review the pattern of results for Anglo, black, and Hispanic male and female students. A ranking of mean scores from high scores to low scores for eighth grade student's aspirations and expectations reveals the following pattern; black males, black females, Anglo males, Anglo females, Hispanic males, and Hispanic females. For the eleventh grade students the pattern is not quite as clear. For aspirations the ranking is; Hispanic males, black females, Anglo males, black males, Anglo females, and Hispanic females. For expectations the ranking is black females, Anglo males, Hispanic males, black males, Anglo females, and Hispanic females. The only consistent ranking across both grade levels and both aspirations and expectations is that Hispanic females are consistently lowest. This is possibly a reflection of the triple oppression as noted by Mirande and Enriquez (1976). It is also interesting that for eleventh grade black students, females have higher levels of aspirations and expectations, although the difference is not statistically significant.

Tables 2 through 4 present the zero order correlations for Anglo, black, and Hispanic students, respectively. In reviewing these tables briefly, one notes that the correlations between the independent and dependent variables are

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Tables 2, 3, and 4 about here

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generally higher for Anglo students. Specifically, for Anglo students the weaker correlations are those which one would expect, between Anglo peer group integration and percent Anglo with expectations and aspirations. For black students, the correlations are generally weaker than those for Anglo and Hispanic students. The independent variables with the strongest correlations with black student's aspirations and expectations are parent's level of education, self (for eleventh grade students), and disciplinary problems. Like in the case of black students, there is a relationship between school contextual factors and aspirations and expectations for Hispanic students. This is especially the case for eleventh grade students. Also, for eleventh grade Hispanic students attitudes toward own ethnic group has one of the stronger correlations with levels of educational aspirations and expectations.

Regression analysis is performed to determine the unique contribution of each of the independent variables upon aspirations and expectations for Anglo, black, and Hispanic students. In terms of the first question posed in this research, the pattern of differences exhibited in the analysis of variance tables is reflected in the regression analysis. Generally, female students have lower levels of aspirations and expectations when compared with male students of their same ethnicity. The exception to this pattern is found in the case of the black eleventh grade students where the pattern is reversed, although again, in this case, it is not statistically significant. The largest differences between males and females within ethnic group categories is found in the case of eleventh grade Hispanic student's aspirations -.21 ($p \leq .05$). There is a somewhat tenuous pattern as to the effect of age/grade level on sex differences in educational aspirations and expectations. One would hypothesize that as students get older, the sex differences

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Table 5 about here

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would become more manifest. This pattern, although present in the case of Anglo and Hispanic student's aspirations, is generally weak.

School's racial context had different effects for Anglo and Hispanic students, and black students. Generally, the pattern for Anglo and Hispanic students is a negative effect of percent Anglo in the grade upon aspirations and expectations. That is, as the level of Anglo students increase in the eighth and eleventh grades, the lower the level of Anglo and Hispanic student's aspirations and expectations. This is especially the case for eleventh grade Hispanic students, where percent Anglo in the class had the strongest effect upon aspirations -.29 ($p \leq .05$) and expectations -.42 ($p \leq .001$). For black students the relationship between percent Anglo in the eighth and eleventh grade classes with aspirations and expectations differs by grade level. For eighth grade students, there is a weak positive effect of percent Anglo on aspirations .14 ($p \leq .001$) and expectations .09 ($p \leq .05$). The greater the percentage of Anglo students in the eighth grade class, the more positive black student's aspirations and expectations. For eleventh grade black students, the relationship is just the opposite -.11 ($p \leq .05$) and -.10 ($p \leq .10$), respectively.

The level of Anglo peer group integration generally did not have much of an effect upon aspirations and expectations for the Hispanic or black students. The strongest effects of Anglo peer group integration is found for eighth grade Hispanic student expectations .14 ($p \leq .05$) and eleventh grade Hispanic students expectations .20 ($p \leq .05$). The higher the level of Hispanic students Anglo peer group integration, the higher the level of expectations. This finding is curious given the generally negative impact that high levels of percent Anglo has upon Hispanic student's aspirations and expectations. Thus, it appears

that those students who become integrated into the Anglo peer group may insulate themselves, possibly through assimilating, from the negative effects of Anglo student population dominance. Conversely, those Hispanic students who have low levels of Anglo peer group integration in Anglo dominated schools will generally have even lower levels of aspirations and expectations.

Generally speaking, education of the head of the household and academic competence had the greatest effects upon aspirations and expectations. For Anglo and Hispanic students, academic competence generally had the greater effect of the two on both aspirations and expectations. This is especially the case for Hispanic students. However, the pattern was just the opposite for black students. Education of the head of the household had a uniformly larger effect on aspirations and expectations for eighth and eleventh grade black students than did the effect of academic competence. This is consistent with the findings previously cited which note the fantasy like levels of aspiration of black students. Although, given the effects of education of the head of the household, maybe it reflects a greater level of insight on the part of black students into just how the meritocracy does function.

In reviewing the other measures of student performance it is important to note the negative effect of worker characteristics upon aspirations. That is, the more cooperative, obedient, easy to discipline, patient, kind, and not prone to anger, the lower the student's aspirations and expectations. This is consistent with the thesis of Bowles and Gintis (1976). They contend that the student's worker personality is a determinant of where the student will be placed in the occupational structure. Those students who have working class personality orientations, those derived from the primary socialization they received from parents employed as blue collar workers will be selected out by the teachers as those who have less potential for college and are more appropriately placed or oriented toward commercial and general educational

tracks. These expectations are communicated to the student and thus have an impact upon the student's own formulation of expectations and aspirations. Note, however, that the pattern is only statistically significant for Anglo eighth grade students expectations -.08 ($p \leq .05$), and Anglo eleventh grade student's aspirations -.13 ($p \leq .05$) and expectations -.17 ($p \leq .01$). Although, this is not a test of the Bowles and Gintis thesis, it is interesting to note that those white students who are more passive and controllable have lower levels of aspirations and expectations.

In reviewing the effects of student attitudes on aspirations and expectations, it generally appears that student's attitudes toward school has the largest effect on aspirations and expectations. The more favorable student's attitudes toward school, the higher the student's aspirations and expectations. Generally, locus of control and self concept have generally weak relationships to aspirations and expectations. Locus of control is strongest in the cases of eleventh grade Anglo expectations and eighth grade Hispanic aspirations. The more internal ones locus of control, the higher the level of aspirations and expectations. Attitude toward own ethnic group has a relatively strong effect on eleventh grade Hispanic student's aspirations .19 ($p \leq .10$) and expectations .27 ($p \leq .01$). The more favorable Hispanic student's attitudes toward members of their own ethnic group, the higher their aspirations and expectations. The relationships are conspicuously absent in the case of black students and eighth grade Hispanic students.

School disciplinary problems generally have a negative effect upon student's aspirations and expectations. The higher the level of disciplinary problems, the lower the level of aspirations and expectations. As Kerckhoff and Campbell (1978b) discovered, this is especially the case with black students, -.17 ($p \leq .001$) with eighth grade student's expectations and -.14 ($p \leq .05$) with eleventh grade expectations.

Regression analysis done separately for males and females reveal some minor changes in the pattern of results. Specifically, for Anglo students,

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Table 6 about here

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education of the head of the household is more powerfully related than academic competence is to aspirations and expectations for eleventh grade male students. However, for the other three cases of Anglo male and female eigth grade and female eleventh grade, academic competence is the more powerful factor. The effect of locus of control differs by sex and grade for Anglo students. For eighth grade students, locus of control has a statistically significant effect upon aspirations and expectations for female students, -.13 ($p \leq .01$). On the other hand, for eleventh grade students, locus of control is a statistically significant factor only in the case of male students aspirations and expectations, -.22 ($p \leq .001$) and -.20 ($p \leq .01$), respectively. The significance of these latter differences are debatable. It is more likely that they are aberrations of the sample data, as opposed to specific findings to base theoretical explanations upon. Nevertheless, locus of control is discovered to be more important in the development of the aspirations and expectations of Anglo than minority students, just the opposite as previously noted in the literature (Kerckhoff and Campbell, 1977b).

For black students, there are differences for male and female students on the effect of academic competence upon aspirations and expectations. Academic competence is more important for male student's aspirations and expectations, .30 ($p \leq .01$) and .25 ($p \leq .05$), respectively, as compared with .23 ($p \leq .05$) and .06 (ns) for female student's aspirations and expectations. This follows the classic pattern cited earlier. On the other hand, sociability for eleventh grade black female students is the most important factor predicting aspirations, .32 ($p \leq .001$). This is the only case where

sociability was found to be a significant predictor of aspirations or expectations. The effect of disciplinary problems also varies with grade and sex. For eighth grade black male students disciplinary problems have a greater effect on student's aspirations and expectations than for black female students. On the other hand, for eleventh grade students the effect of disciplinary problems is greater for black female student's aspirations and expectations than black male students. This same pattern is found in the case of Anglo males and females, however, the effects are not as pronounced. It is interesting to note that the effect of disciplinary problems is absent for both Hispanic males and females. The percent Anglo students has a statistically significant effect only for eighth grade black male student's aspirations and expectations, .21 ($p \leq .001$) and .15 ($p \leq .05$), respectively. In this case, as the level of Anglo students in the eighth grade increases, so do black male student's aspirations and expectations. In the elventh grade percent Anglo was not a statistically significant factor in predicting black male or female aspirations or expectations, although it is interesting to note that the direction of the statistically insignificant betas are uniformly in the opposite direction as found for the eighth grade students.

For Hispanic students differences were also found for males and females. Education of the head of the household has a greater effect on eighth grade female students when compared to their male counterpart. However, in general, academic competence had a stronger effect upon aspirations and expectations for Hispanic males than females. Also, like in the case of the black students, school racial context has a larger effect on Hispanic male students in this case for both the eighth and eleventh grades than Hispanic female students. However, for Hispanic students, the relationship is in the opposite direction as discovered for black students. Specifically, in predicting eleventh grade Hispanic student's expectations, percent Anglo in the school had the largest

effect, -.50 ($p \leq .01$) and -.32 ($p < .10$), respectively. Therefore, as the percentage of Anglo students increase in the school, the lower the levels of Hispanic student's educational aspirations and expectations. Also, Hispanic student's own ethnic attitudes are statistically significant only for eleventh grade male students with educational expectations .30 ($p \leq .05$), although it is uniformly stronger for eleventh grade Hispanic students when compared to the case of the other two ethnic groups.

Conclusion

In reviewing the findings, one notes that alothough the effect of sex is weak, it is nevertheless statistically significant for at least one case in each ethnic group. The effect of sex is strongest for HIspanic students, possibly the result of the triple oppression of Hispanic female students, and weakest in the case of black students, perhaps because of a longer history of integration of black women in the labor force.

Ethnic differences in aspirations and expectations are also weak. Although, in this case it is again important to note the consistently low aspirations and expectations of Hispanic female students. The effect of parent's education is strongest for Anglo students, followed by black students, and weakest for Hispanic students. A possible explanation for this pattern of results is the lowering of the mean levels and variance around the means of education of parents as one moves from the Anglo 2.83 and 2.91(for eighth and eleventh grade samples), to black 2.66 and 2.29, and finally to the Hispanic sampes 1.97 and 1.95. Nevertheless, for black students, parent's education was a more powerful factor in predicting aspirations and expectations than academic competence. This was not the case for either Anglo or Hispanic students.

The pattern of a greater effect of parent's education for female students when compared to male students is only present for Anglo students. This

replicates the research cited earlier (Sewell and Shah, 1968; Alexander and Eckland, 1974; Hauser, 1971; Hout and Morgan, 1975). This pattern is not present for either black or Hispanic students. The larger effect of academic competence for males students when compared to the effect of female students aspirations and expectations is not consistently present for Anglo students, however, this pattern is present for both black and Hispanic students. For Anglo students, the impact of both academic competence and parent's education are stronger for female students, just the opposite of the findings of Marini and Greenberger (1978). The research cited earlier which notes that socioeconomic background has a consistently larger effect on aspirations and expectations than academic ability was not entirely supported. For Anglo and Hispanic students,in general, academic competence consistently had a larger effect than education of the head of the household (see table 5). The findings for the black sample were supportive of the previous research. However, when the analysis is done seperately by sex for black and Anglo eleventh grade students the pattern is not consistent (see table 6). In general, there are many unanswered question as to the differential effect of education of the head of the household and academic competence on male and female, as well as, black and Hispanic educational aspirations and expectations. One has to consider whether the lack of complete support is a result of the different measurement instrument or in the tenuousness of the original findings.

Similar to the findings of Kerckhoff and Campbell (1977b), we found that school disciplinary problems were an important factor in the formation of aspirations and expectations of black students. However, we also discovered that the effect of disciplinary problems varied by sex, grade level, and ethnicity. Further research is needed to replicate these findings and to explore reasons for the differences in the effect of disciplinary problems on aspirations and expectations. Kerckhoff and Campbell's (1978a) findings on the importance of fatalism or locus of control for black student's ambition was not reproduced.

In no case did we find a greater effect of fatalism or locus of control on ambition than education of the head of the household for black students (see table 6). However, it is important to keep in mind that the reliabilities for the indicator of locus of control are quite weak (.35 to .46), therefore these findings should be interpreted cautiously. Nevertheless, additional research is needed with better measures of locus of control to determine the differing effect of this factor on the aspirations and expectations of students of different age levels and ethnicities.

Lastly, the differences in the effect of percent Anglo on the aspirations and expectations of all students were intriquing. The negative effect of percent Anglo on the aspirations and expectations of Anglo, black (eleventh grade students), and especially Hispanic students is similar to the effects of school socioeconomic status discovered in the frog pond effects research (Davis, 1966; Alexander and Eckland, 1975; Meyer, 1970; Nelson, 1972; Alwin and Otto, 1977). Thus, it may be ironic that the policy of desegregation with the assumptions regarding the higher the percentage of Anglo students in the school, the better the educational climate for the transferance of ambition and academic skills to minority students (Gerard and Miller, 1975) may in reality operate in an opposite manner (see also Iadicola and Moore, 1979). However, it is interesting to note that percent Anglo had a positive effect on the aspirations and expectations of black male eighth grade students, underlying the argument for intervention at earlier ages. Also, the findings for Anglo students were opposite to those found TenHouten, et. al. (1971) where the more Anglo dominated the school environment, the higher the level of aspirations for Anglo students. More research is needed especially in determining which factors of the educational environment may alter or moderate the negative effects of percent Anglo on the educational outcomes of Anglo and minority students (Mercer, Iadicola, Moore, 1980; McDill, et. al., 1969).

TABLE 1: Means and Standard Deviations of Educational Aspiration and Expectations for Anglo, Black, and Hispanic Male and Female Eighth and Eleventh Grade Students

Educational Aspirations	8th Grade Males $\bar{X}$	SD	N	F	Females $\bar{X}$	SD	N	F	11th Grade Males $\bar{X}$	SD	N	F	Females $\bar{X}$	SD	N	F
Anglo	3.73	1.12	422		3.64	1.15	437		3.82	1.03	250		3.68	1.05	221	
Black	3.84	1.04	355	2.31	3.81[a]	1.17	340	5.42**	3.81	1.00	196	2.14	3.84	1.00	217	2.43
Hispanic	3.63	1.14	147		3.45[a]	1.05	140		4.10	1.00	63		3.55	.94	65	
TOTAL	3.76	1.09	924		3.67	1.12	917	2.97	3.85	1.02	509		3.73	1.02	503	3.12
Educational Expectations																
Anglo	3.42	1.10	420		3.32	1.11	439		3.54	1.02	253		3.48	.98	220	
Black	3.57	1.09	358	3.23*	3.44[a]	1.10	340	4.41**	3.48	1.99	197	.17	3.61[a]	.95	217	4.72**
Hispanic	3.33	1.14	147		3.11[a]	1.12	141		3.50	1.11	62		3.18[a]	1.09	65	
TOTAL	3.46	1.10	925		3.33	1.11	920	6.25**	3.52	1.02	512		3.50	.99	502	.10

* $p \leq .05$
** $\leq .01$
*** $\leq .001$
a = Indicates the location of statistical significant pairs based on Scheffe Test.

TABLE 2: Zero-Order Pearson Correlations for Eighth (N = 374) and Eleventh (N = 388) Grade Anglo Students. (Eighth Grade Matrix Below Diagonal, Eleventh Grade Matrix Above Diagonal)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	$\bar{X}$	SD
1. Education of Head		.03	.05	-.10	.03	.03	.21	.13	.16	-.07	-.25	.04	.37	.43	2.91	1.27
2. Sex	-.10		00	-.18	.03	.10	.17	.16	.18	-.08	.01	-.03	-.11	-.08	1.48	.50
3. Self	.05	-.06		-.18	.11	.12	.15	.09	.12	.01	-.01	-.08	.11	.19	2.82	.33
4. Locus of Control	-.07	-.09	-.26		-.20	-.09	-.19	-.16	-.14	.15	.10	.08	-.22	-.24	2.46	.57
5. Attitude Toward School	-.01	00	.26	-.15		.33	.15	.14	.14	-.13	.18	.06	30	.20	3.61	.82
6. Attitude Toward Own Ethnic Group	00	.16	.18	-.06	.23		.12	.08	.19	-.09	.08	.06	.03	.04	3.21	.31
7. Competence	.16	.15	.26	-.19	.20	.18		.65	.49	-.21	-.09	.06	.33	.34	3.54	.77
8. Worker Characteristics	.08	.14	.15	-.12	.16	.03	.61		.35	-.29	-.12	00	.16	.15	3.76	.74
9. Sociability	.17	00	.07	-.11	.09	.11	.36	.36		-.04	-.05	.06	.18	.21	3.48	.69
10. Disciplinary Problems	.08	.27	-.01	.10	-.22	-.12	-.31	-.35	-.06		.04	-.05	.16	-.18	.65	1.71
11. Percent Anglo	-.10	.04	.04	-.01	.08	.01	-.13	-.13	-.04	-.01		.22	-.14	-.19	73.54	12.69
12. Anglo Integration	.04	.07	.09	-.04	.01	.11	.11	.08	.07	-.03	.21		.03	.00	4.11	.85
13. Student's Educational Aspirations	.28	-.05	.20	-.19	.23	.14	.39	.20	.21	-.18	-.12	.08		.75	3.78	1.05
14. Student's Educational Expectations	.34	-.05	.17	-.16	.22	.12	.39	.20	.24	-.15	-.13	.14	.77		3.53	1.01
$\bar{X}$	2.83	1.52	2.78	2.50	3.66	3.29	3.56	3.81	3.81	1.92	69.12	4.00	3.71	3.40		
SD	1.29	.50	.38	.62	.84	.33	.90	.86	.86	2.82	18.21	.88	1.12	1.10		

TABLE 3: Zero-Order Pearson Correlations for Eighth (N = 483) and Eleventh (N = 278) Grade Black Students. (Eighth Grade Matrix Below Diagonal, Eleventh Grade Matrix Above Diagonal)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	$\bar{X}$	SD
1. Education of Head		.06	.01	.11	-.07	-.07	-.07	-.05	.02	.02	-.21	-.02	.23	.26	2.29	1.22
2. Sex	.04		.09		.05	.02	.12	.10	.04	-.14	.02	-.01	.10	.12	1.54	.50
3. Self	-.03	.01		-.13	.16	.27	.13	.07	.17	-.08	.10	.13	.16	.26	2.76	.40
4. Locus of Control	-.03	-.05	-.12		-.14	-.14	-.12	-.07	-.06	.06	-.03	-.06	-.05	-.07	2.59	.59
5. Attitude Toward School	-.08	-.05	.17	.08		.25	.17	.18	.24	-.09	-.03	.31	.20	.15	3.60	.82
6. Attitude Toward Own Ethnic Group	.00	.00	.16	.01	.24		-.08	.01	.01	.03	-.01	.13	.09	.14	3.03	.38
7. Competence	-.05	.14	.21	-.15	.16	.07		.61	.40	-.33	.11	.16	.15	.21	3.19	.77
8. Worker Characteristics	-.04	.05	.11	-.08	.10	.02	.54		.41	-.28	-.01	.16	.14	.16	3.61	.78
9. Sociability	.02	-.02	.15	-.12	.18	.17	.28	.07		-.15	.00	.22	.22	.22	3.69	.72
10. Disciplinary Problems	-.04	-.14	-.02	.01	-.13	-.02	-.13	-.33	.11		.07	-.07	-.15	-.21	.78	1.80
11. Percent Anglo	-.04	.01	.10	-.11	.02	.05	-.07	-.07	.04	.06		.24	-.14	-.11	70.12	12.07
12. Anglo Integration	.03	-.15	.04	-.02	.07	.10	.01	.07	.05	-.18	.16		.11	.14	1.88	.92
13. Student's Educational Aspirations	.20	-.01	.06	-.13	.17	.02	.12	.08	.10	-.11	.13	.02		.67	3.86	.98
14. Student's Educational Expectations	.15	-.07	.08	-.09	.19	.07	.12	.08	.05	-.18	.07	.00	.69		3.56	.96
$\bar{X}$	2.66	1.52	2.74	2.70	3.65	3.23	3.05	3.35	3.62	2.81	57.11	1.95	3.82	3.51		
SD	1.28	.50	.42	.59	.88	.43	.91	.95	.73	3.26	18.87	.96	1.06	1.10		

TABLE 4: Zero-Order Pearson Correlations for Eighth (N = 209) and Eleventh (N = 92) Grade Hispanic Students. (Eighth Grade Matrix Below Diagonal, Eleventh Grade Matrix Above Diagonal)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	$\bar{X}$	SD
1. Education of Head	\	-.04	.06	-.12	-.19	-.05	.08	.12	.25	-.03	.04	.21	.06	.14	1.95	1.29
2. Sex	-.06	\	-.07	-.16	-.13	.12	.13	-.04	.07	-.26	.03	-.03	-.16	-.05	1.50	.50
3. Self	-.12	.05	\	-.13	.21	.03	.33	.05	.10	-.28	.07	.17	.18	.10	2.67	.36
4. Locus of Control	.05	-.03	-.09	\	.12	.01	-.06	-.08	-.09	.04	-.17	.01	.01	.05	2.59	.52
5. Attitude Toward School	.10	-.01	.19	-.17	\	.37	.04	.16	-.06	-.09	.08	.03	.32	.23	3.62	.91
6. Attitude Toward Own Ethnic Group	-.14	.17	.17	-.02	.20	\	.02	-.04	-.02	-.06	.12	-.03	.24	.27	2.99	.45
7. Competence	.05	.08	.21	-.11	.12	.05	\	.38	.45	-.30	-.03	-.01	.16	.29	3.72	.88
8. Worker Characteristics	-.03	.11	.14	-.04	.23	.08	.54	\	.26	-.24	.03	.08	.03	.14	3.73	.75
9. Sociability	.15	.01	.08	-.14	.05	.08	.42	.10	\	-.10	.02	.09	-.11	.09	3.48	.82
10. Disciplinary Problems	-.05	-.15	.07	.17	-.19	-.08	-.20	-.36	-.02	\	-.17	-.31	-.11	-.13	.61	1.50
11. Percent Anglo	.05	.01	-.03	.05	.07	-.07	-.15	-.06	-.11	.05	\	.58	-.19	-.25	65.64	9.74
12. Anglo Integration	.13	-.17	-.06	-.06	.00	-.03	-.01	-.01	-.05	.13	.29	\	-.06	-.01	2.64	1.39
13. Student's Educational Aspirations	.15	-.12	.13	-.20	.16	-.03	.29	.16	.18	-.16	-.13	.03	\	.67	3.79	1.00
14. Student's Educational Expectations	.22	-.14	.12	-.20	.17	-.01	.37	.21	.22	-.12	-.14	.15	.75		3.40	1.08
$\bar{X}$	1.97	1.50	2.70	2.60	3.77	3.25	3.43	3.89	3.65	2.27	52.75	2.48	3.61	3.26		
SD	1.18	.50	.40	.63	.79	.44	.92	.86	.68	3.20	14.44	1.23	1.13	1.12		

TABLE 5: Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Anglo, Hispanic, and Black Eighth and Eleventh Grade Educational Aspirations and Expectations

	Anglo				Black				Hispanic			
	8th (N = 734)		11th (N = 388)		8th (N = 483)		11th (N = 278)		8th (N = 309)		11th (N = 92)	
	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.
Education of Head	.20***	.26***	.27***	.32***	.22***	.17***	.22***	.24***	-.14*	.21***	.14	.15
Sex	-.10**	-.08*	-.14***	-.14**	-.05	-.12**	.07	.07	-.14*	-.13*	-.21*	-.10
Self	.03	.01	.03	.10*	-.01	.03	.10	.18**	.09	.06	.00	-.09
Locus of Control	-.09**	-.06	-.11**	-.13**	-.08	-.05	-.02	-.03	-.13*	-.14*	-.10	-.04
Attitude Toward School	.14***	.15***	.27***	.14**	.15***	.15**	.13*	.04	.10	.13*	.27*	.18
Attitude Toward Own Ethnic Group	.04	.01	-.09*	-.06	-.03	.03	.04	.09	-.05	-.02	.19	.27**
Competence	.29***	.30***	.30***	.30***	.10	.11*	.03	-.04	.22**	.27***	.24*	.31**
Worker Characteristics	-.07	-.08*	-.13*	-.17**	-.01	-.04	-.01	.09	-.02	.03	-.10	-.02
Sociability	.05	.07*	.02	.05	.04	.01	.13*	.11	.04	.04	-.21	-.07
Disciplinary Problems	-.07*	-.04	-.08	-.12**	-.09	.17***	-.09	-.14*	.10	.00	-.13	-.07
Percent Anglo	-.10**	-.11***	-.09*	-.10*	.14***	.09*	-.11*	-.10	-.09	-.14*	-.29*	-.42***
Anglo Associates	.06	.12***	.01***	.00	-.04	-.06	.05	.08	.00	.14*	.07	.20*
R^2	.26***	.29***	.33***	.35***	.12***	.12***	.17***	.23***	.19***	.28***	.30**	.32***

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$
*** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 6: Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Male and Female Anglo, Black and Hispanic Eighth and Eleventh Grade Aspirations and Expectations

	ANGLO				BLACK				HISPANIC			
	Males (N = 352)		Females (N = 382)		Males (N = 231)		Females (N = 252)		Males (N = 105)		Females (N = 104)	
	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.	ASP.	EXP.
8th Grade												
Education of Head	.16***	.22***	.23***	.29***	.21***	.20***	.23***	.15*	.12	.12	.15	.26**
Self	.08	.00	-.01**	.02**	-.03	-.04	-.02**	.09	.13	.03	.08	.07
Locus of Control	-.05	.03	-.13	-.13	.02	-.02	-.16	-.07	-.16	-.07	-.09	-.18*
Attitude Toward School	.14**	.13**	.13**	.16***	.20**	.19**	.14	.13*	.05	.06	.15	.20*
Attitude Toward Own Ethnic Group	-.02	-.01	.11*	.05	-.05	.01	-.02	.05	.08	.11	-.14	-.01
Competence	.25***	.32***	.34***	.29***	.12	.17*	.04	.01	.24*	.31**	.23	.26*
Worker Characteristic	-.07	-.06	-.06	-.09	-.09	.19**	.08	.13	-.14	.01	.01	.02
Sociability	.09	.10*	.00	.04	-.05	-.08	.11	.02	.04	.13	.06	-.03
Disciplinary Problems	-.12*	-.08	-.04	.01	-.11	-.26***	-.05	-.07	-.09	-.03	-.11	.00
Percent Anglo	-.11*	-.08**	-.07	-.12**	.21***	.15*	.08	.06	-.21*	-.24**	.02	-.06
Anglo Integration	.10*	.15**	.01	.07	-.08	-.13	.00	.00	.07	.19*	-.05	.11
R^2	.24***	.29***	.30***	.32***	.14***	.18***	.15***	.11**	.20*	.29***	.23**	.29***
	(N = 199)		(N = 189)		(N = 128)		(N = 150		(N = 46		(N = 46)	
Eleventh Grade												
Education of Head	.24***	.29***	.28***	.35***	.25**	.34***	.22**	.17*	.12	.22	.17	.03
Self	.05	.10	-.02	.11	.08	.15	.09	.22**	-.05	.33*	.15	.28
Locus of Control	-.22***	-.20**	-.02	-.06	-.02	-.01	-.05	-.06	-.16	.03	.02	-.06
Attitude Toward School	.28***	.17**	.29***	.12	-.06	-.01	.25**	.08	.28	.23	.27	.24
Attitude Toward Own Ethnic Group	-.09	-.05	-.07	-.05	.12	.16	.05	.06	.23	.30*	.11	.18
Competence	.20*	.16*	.34***	.42***	.30**	.25*	.23*	.06	.35	.38*	.14	.00
Worker Characteristic	-.15*	-.15*	-.08	-.16*	.01	-.12	-.01	.05	-.11	-.12	-.05	.17
Sociability	.02	.10	.01	.02	-.03	.08	.32***	.15	-.24	.02	-.27	-.06
Disciplinary Problems	-.05	-.09	-.12	-.15*	-.02	-.07	-.25**	-.24**	-.11	-.04	-.05	-.10
Percent Anglo	-.09	-.16*	.07	.02	-.14	-.09	-.05	-.10	-.25	-.50**	-.26	-.32
Anglo Integration	.12*	.09	-.12	-.13*	.11	.11	-.03	-.05	.05	.37	.05	.10
R^2	.32***	.35***	.38***	.41***	.19**	.25***	.30***	.25***	.33	.52**	.26	.33

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$
*** $p \leq .001$

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